HISTORY OF TRICHINOPOLY

..OR TO THE

BRITISH OCCUPATION

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A TESTIMONIAL.



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FOREWORD

In the course of his researches in the field of ancient Indian History, the author came across much interesting matter connected with the ancient history of the historic city of Trichinopoly. Not willing to incorporate it in his **Pre-Mussalman India,** because the information relating to one particular city of a few square miles in area would be found uninteresting in the history of a big continent like India, the author has published it as a separate book.

September 1917.

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HISTORY OF TRICHINOPOLY

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CHAPTER I.

Introduction

1. The word Trichinopoly is derived from "Trisiras" (the three-headed) and "palli" (a town). The place is so called from Trisiras, the brother of Ravana, who once held sway there. He was a devout worshipper of Siva who is said to have granted his prayer that the city should bear his name. Other derivations are suggested, the most important being that the city is really Tiru-sila-palli (the holy rock town).

CHAPTER II.

The Chola Kingdom

2. The earliest known people of Trichinopoly are the Cholas. It is not known when and how they occupied the country. Their kings resided at Oraiyur and Jayankonda-cholapuram. Mention is made of them in the Asokan edicts of B.C. 260, by the Greek geographers of A.D. 130, and in the old annals of Ceylon, which island they invaded in 247 B.C.

3. Their country was bounded on the north by the river Pennar, on the east by the sea, on the south by the river

Vellar and on the west by the river Karaipottanar and Kotagiri, traces of which still exist in the Kulitalai taluk.

4. They maintained very chivalrous relations with other ruling houses. Their warlike virtues were cultivated up to a Spartan standard. Irrigation was greatly developed under them. It was by them that the Grand Anicut—the bulwark of the fertility of the Tanjore country—was built and the old work remains the base of the modern improvement upon it. Most of the irrigation channels which still lead from the Cauvery existed in the days of the Cholas. The head-sluice of the Uyyakondan channel, in existence to the present day, is mentioned in a grant of Kulottunga III. The head-sluice of the Periyavaikal near Musiri was built by Rajaraja III.

5. Revenue surveys were made by them and lands as small as $\frac{1}{524288000000}$ of a veli were measured and assessed to revenue.

6. The many fine temples built by the Cholas bear eloquent testimony to the high skill of their architects and engineers.

7. The country was administered by village assemblies which exercised supreme authority in all details. Every village assembly was divided into committees for doing the various branches of the village administrative work. A certain number of villages formed a district under a district officer, and these districts were again grouped into provinces.

8. Their trade was extensive. "Horses brought from distant lands beyond the seas, pepper brought in ships, gold and precious stones from the northern mountains, sandal and aghil from the mountains towards the west, pearls from the

southern seas, corals from the eastern seas, the produce of the regions watered by the Ganges, all that was grown on the banks of the Cauvery, the manufactures of Kalakam (in Burma) and articles of food from Elam and Ceylon,"—all these were to be found in the emporium of Kaveripatnam. Luxury and civilisation had been highly developed.

9. **Karikala** (A.D. 50 to 95) :—The earliest known Chola king was Karikala (Hastipada). He defeated the combined armies of the Pandyas and the Cheras at Vennil in the Tanjore district. Sluices and canals for irrigation from the Cauvery existed in his time.

10. **Nalankilli** (96 to 105) :—Karikala's son Nalankilli engaged in frequent conflicts with his Chera and Pandya neighbours. He is said to have captured seven fortified towns in the Pandyan kingdom.

11. **Killivallan** and **Perunarkilli** (106 to 150) :—Nalankilli was succeeded by his son Killivallan who quelled an insurrection of no less than nine princes of the family who wished to divide the kingdom among themselves. He seems to have met with some success in his inevitable battles with the Cheras and the Pandyas. His brother Perunarkilli who succeeded him performed the Rajasuya sacrifice.

12. **Kocchennigannan** and **Kokkilli** :—The next two rulers were Kocchennigannan who built many temples, and Kokkilli.

13. The history of the Chola kingdom from this date till about the seventh century is involved in obscurity.

CHAPTER III.

The Pallava Conquest and the Chalukyan Occupation

14. **The Pallava Conquest:**—The Pallava kings Simhavishnu, Mahendravarman and another claim to have conquered the Cholas by the seventh century, and their inscriptions are to be found in two caves at Trichinopoly.

15. **The Chalukyan Occupation:**—The western Chalukyas claim to have conquered the Pallavas and the Cholas and to have crossed the Cauvery and invaded the country of the Cheras and the Pandyas. The Pallava king Nandivarman, who defeated the Pandyas at Mannai Kudi, was himself defeated by the Chalukyan Vikramaditya who reigned from 733 to 747.

16. **The Pallava Reoccupation :**—A later Pallava king, Vijaya Nripatunga Vikramavarman, is said to have held the Chola country in the ninth century, and his inscriptions have been found in Lalgudi and Tanjore.

CHAPTER IV.

The Chola Restoration

17. **The Chola Restoration : Vijayalaya :**—The Chola king Vijayalaya extended his sway both north and west and formed his people into a great and powerful nation.

18. **Aditya I:**—To his son Aditya I. is ascribed the conquest of the Konga country (Salem and Coimbatore) in 894. He seems to have taken possession of Tondaimandalam

(South and North Arcots and Chingleput), the ancient Pallava country.

19. **Parantaka I.** (906 to 946):—The next king Parantaka I. won victories over the Banas, the Gangas, the Pandyas and the Singhalese. He is said to have covered the Siva temple at Chidambaram with pure gold brought from all the regions subdued by the power of his own arm. He practised many meritorious acts and gave gifts—*Hemagarbha* and *Tulabhara*—and gifts of land to Brahmans and for the building of temples. His capitals were Conjeevaram and Tanjore.

20. **Rajaditya** (947 to 949):—His son Rajaditya was killed in battle by the Rashtrakuta king Krishna at Takkolam in 949.

21. **Arinjava, Gandaraditya** and **Madhurantaka**:—He was succeeded by his brother Arinjava, who was in turn followed by Gandaraditya and his son Madhurantaka.

22. **Parantaka II** and **Aditya II**:—The next Chola kings were Parantaka II and his son Aditya II. It was this Aditya II who is said to have conquered Virapandya and defeated the Rashtrakutas.

23. **Rajaraja I** (985 to 1013):—The most famous of the Chola kings was Rajaraja I, son of Parantaka II and brother of Aditya II. His reign is the starting-point of a period of unexampled prosperity which remained almost unbroken for over a century. His rule extended as far as Quilon and Coorg in the west, and from Ceylon and Kanya Kumari in the south to the borders of Orissa. In 994 he organied an expedition against a seaport of Chera and utterly destroyed it. He claims to have won several victories over the Pandyas and the Cheras. In 998 he conquered the Gangas,

the Nolambas and the Pandyas and obtained possession of Tadigaipadi, Vengi and Coorg. In 1002 Quilon, Kalinga and Ceylon were subdued. In 1006 he subdued the western Chalukyas and pillaged their country. In 1013 the "12,000 ancient islands of the sea"—probably the Laccadives—were conquered.

24. He built the great and beautiful temple of Siva at Tanjore. A devoted Saivite, his toleration of other religions is borne out by his endowment of a Buddhist temple built by a feudatory. He furthered the development of irrigation and the system of village administration which was so elaborate during this period.

25. **Rajendra I** (1014 to 1044):—Rajendra I, son of Rajaraja I, succeeded to the throne of his father. His conquests are said to have extended as far as the Ganges; hence the king assumed the surname of Gangai-konda-Chola. He sent a naval expedition against Lower Burma and conquered the Nicobars. He built a temple at Jayankondacholapuram after the model of the Tanjore temple.

26. **Rajadhiraja I** (1045 to 1053):—His son or nephew Rajadhiraja I, with whom he shared the throne since 1018, succeeded him. He was involved in wars against the Pandyas, the Cheras and the Singhalese, but the revolts were sternly suppressed. He also fought against the western Chalukyas and carried the war as far as Kolahpur. He performed an Asvamedha. He died in a battle with the Chalukyas at Koppam in 1053.

27. **Rajendra II** (1054 to 1064):—He was succeeded by his cousin or brother Rajendra II.

28. **Virarajendra** (1065 to 1068):—The next Chola king was Virarajendra. He won victories over the Cheras and

the Pandyas, reconquered Vengi and repeatedly triumphed over the western Chalukyas. He claims no less than five victories over them, and after the last battle at Kudali at the junction of the Tunga and the Bhadra rivers, he conferred the kingdom of the western Chalukyas on one Vikramaditya and gave him his daughter in marriage.*

29. **Adirajendra** (1069 to 1070):—Virarajendra died in 1068 and was succeeded by his son Adirajendra. This Adirajendra was killed in a rebellion, and Kulottunga I. the adopted son of Rajendra I. claimed the throne. But Vikramaditya, king of the western Chalukyas and brother-in-law of the murdered prince, wished to avenge Adirajendra's death, which he probably believed to be due to the instigation of Kulottunga I. A furious conflict ensued and lasted for 4 years, but terminated in the complete victory of Kulottunga I.

30. **Kulottunga I.** (1071 to 1118):—Kulottunga I. became in his early life the favourite of his mother's father and was adopted by him as his son. He obtained the Vengi throne as well as that of the Cholas, since he permitted his uncle to continue as his viceroy in the north even after his accession to power. It was in his reign that Ceylon was

* Vimaladitya, a son-in-law of Rajaraja I. was the king of Vengi (eastern Chalukya). He was succeeded in 1023 by his son Rajaraja Chalukya, who espoused a daughter of his uncle Rajendra I. and ruled till 1063. He was succeeded by his brother Vijayaditya; for his son Kulottunga I. seems to have been adopted by his maternal grandfather Rajendra I. When Virarajendra reconquered Vengi as stated in § 28, he seems to have acted as the friend and protector of Vijayaditya whose opponent was probably his brother's son Kulottunga I. who, as the adoped son of Rajendra I. had already established himself at Tanjore. It is also probable that Vijayaditya's oppressor was Vikramaditya of the western Chalukyan clan, who is said to have invaded Vengi some time before 1064. It is this Vikramaditya on whom Virarajendra conferred the western Chalukyan kingdom and to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. Most probably the Chola king brought to an end the quarrels between the eastern and the western Chalukyan rulers.

lost to the Chola empire. But he suppressed the rebellions of the Pandyas and the Cheras, garrisoned the border of Travancore by stationing a regiment at Kottar, and reconquered the country of the Kalingas and the Gangas.

31. He abolished inland transit duties and had the country resurveyed.

32. His capital was Jayankondacholapuram, but Conjeevaram was also his occasional residence.

33. **Vikrama** (1119 to 1135) :—He was succeeded by his son Vikrama, one of whose inscriptions has been found at Tiruvadi near Tanjore.

34. **Kulottunga II** (1136 to 1146) and **Rajaraja II** (1147 to 1171) :—Very little is known about the successors of Vikrama, but the Chola power seems to have slowly declined during this period, and the Pandyas appear to have asserted their independence.

35. **Rajadhiraja II** (1172 to 1178) :—The next king Rajadhiraja II became involved in a war of Pandyan succession ; the king of Ceylon took the side opposite to that espoused by the Cholas. After a victorious campaign in the Madura district, the Singhalese advanced to the north against the Cholas and burnt some villages in the Pattukottai taluk. The successful invaders had on their way removed the sacred door of the temple at holy Ramesvaram, obstructed the worship and carried away all the temple treasures. But they were soon defeated.

36. **Kulottunga III** (1179 to 1215) :—The next Chola king Kulottunga III defeated the Singhalese, captured Madura and placed a candidate of his own on the Pandyan throne.

37. **Rajaraja III** (1216 to 1244):—During the reign of the next king Rajaraja III, the Pandyans rebelled and their king Mahavarman Sundara (1216 to 1235) burnt Tanjore and Oraiyur and conquered the Chola country, but subsequently returned it to its king as a free gift. His inscriptions have been found at Tirukattupalle and Srirangam.

38. This Rajaraja III again sustained a defeat at the hands of the Pallavas in 1230 and a Pallava prince had him imprisoned, but the Hoysalas, who had replaced the western Chalukyas, released and reinstated him. These Hoysalas seem to have protected the Cholas from the Pandyas and established themselves near Srirangam in a new town built by their king Virasomeswara (Jambukeswaram ?).

39. **Rajendra III** (1245 to 1267) :—The last Chola king Rajendra III appears to have resisted the Hoysalas with some success. Virasomeswara was defeated by him in 1252; while in 1254 the Pandyas attacked the Hoysala king and slew him in battle. The Hoysalas do not, however, seem to have been weakened.

CHAPTER V.

The Pandyan Occupation

40. **The Pandyan Occupation** (13th century) :—Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I. (1251 to 1261) penetrated as far north as Nellore, where he had himself anointed as a hero. His inscriptions have been found at Nellore, Srirangam and Tanjore. He covered a portion of the Srirangam temple with gold and made numerous gifts to it. Three other Pandyan kings—Maravarman Kulasekhara I. Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II and Maravarman Kulasekhara II—have

left records in Trichinopoly. But it is impossible to fix the boundaries of the Pandyan and the Hoysala empires at this period, nor can it be said with certainty whether the Cholas had any power at all.*

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* **The Pandyas**:—The Pandyas seem to have been the inveterate foes of the Cholas. Almost every Chola ruler was engaged in conflict with them. Rajaraja I (985 to 1013) made their country a province of the Chola dominions; it was called Rajaraja Pandya Nadu and its capital Cholendrasimhachaturvedimangalam. Rajendra I (1014 to 1044) established a dynasty of Chola blood in the Pandyan country with the title Chola-Pandya. But the Pandyas rebelled in the time of Rajadhiraja I (1045 to 1053) by whom they were put down. Another rebellion broke out during the reign of Virarajendra (1065 to 1068), but this was also quelled and the Pandyan king put to death. Yet another rebellion took place in the reign of Kulottunga I (1071 to 1118) in 1073, but the Chola king subdued the Pandyan country as far as Kottar in Travancore, where he stationed a garrison to guard the frontier. The Chola-Pandyas seem, on the other hand, to have been feudatory till about 1135, after which date they probably died out gradually.

The Pandyas reasserted themselves in the 13th century and threw off the Chola yoke.

The Singhalese:—The Singhalese seem to have come into conflict with the Cholas from about the 10th century. King Parantaka I (906 to 946) is said to have won victories over their king. Rajaraja I (985 to 1013) subdued the whole island, which remained under a Chola dynasty till the time of Kulottunga I (1071 to 1118), when a rising took place and the Cholas were driven out. The Singhalese seem, however, to have rebelled in the time of Rajadhiraja I (1045 to 1053), by whom the revolt was sternly suppressed. None of the later Chola kings seems to have ever again obtained a substantial footing in the island, although Rajadhiraja II (1172 to 1178) and Kulottunga III (1179 to 1215) engaged in fierce conflicts with the king of the Singhalese.

Burma and the Malaya Archipelago:—Rajendra I (1014 to 1044), who sent an expedition to Lower Burma, seems to have extended his supremacy to that country and to the Malaya Archipelago. But how or when these places threw off the Chola yoke is not known.

The Cheras:—Like the Pandyas, the Cheras also seem to have come into constant conflict with the Cholas. King Karikala (50 to 95) and his son Nalankilli (96 to 105) are said to have frequently met them in battle and to have won victories over them. Rajaraja I (985 to 1013) sent an expedition against a seaport of Chera and destroyed it. Rajadhiraja I (1045 to 1053) was involved in wars against them, as also Virarajendra (1065 to 1068) who won victories over them. Kulottunga I (1071 to 1118) suppressed the rebellions of the Cheras and garrisoned their border by stationing a regiment at Kottar. Early in the fourteenth century (1313), the Chera king Ravivarman marched across the peninsula to Srirangam and Conjeevaram.

CHAPTER VI.

The Mussalman Conquest

41. **The Mussalman Conquest** (14th century):—About this time (1310), Malik Kafur, a general of the Mussalman, emperor of Delhi, invaded the south and destroyed the Hoysala empire. Though it is doubtful if he ever reached Ramesvaram, it seems to be almost certain that Mahamadan kings ruled at Madura and Trichinopoly from 1327 to 1365. In the meanwhile, the Chera king Ravivarman marched across the peninsula to Srirangam and Conjeevaram in 1313. The Pandyan and Chola dynasties do not seem, however, to have actually died out of existence, but as very little is known of them, it is almost certain that they were no longer independent.

CHAPTER VII.

The Vijayanagar Supremacy

42. **The Vijayanagar Supremacy**:—Shortly after the destruction of the Hoysala empire in 1310 by Malik Kafur, was founded the kingdom of Vijayanagar on the banks of the Tungabhadra, which grew so quickly that during the reigns of the first two kings Harihara I and Bukka (1336 to 1376) the tide of Mahamadan invasions was not only stemmed, but the Chola and the Pandyan kingdoms were also absorbed in the dominions of the new-born state. The story of the supremacy of Vijayanagar in the south is, however, obscure.

43. The Mahamadan deputies left behind by Malik Kafur ruled Madura and Trichinopoly from 1327 to 1365,

when they fell before the forces of Vijayanagar. One of the images removed from the Srirangam temple at the advance of the non-Aryan invaders was brought back and reconsecrated in 1371, as recorded in an inscription in the temple itself. Kampana Udaiyar and Virupaksha, princes of the Vijayanagar house, established their authority in Madura and South Arcot, and Trichinopoly also seems to have submitted to them. The Vijayanagar kings claimed to have conquered all the kingdoms of the south, and inscriptions of Kampana Udaiyar have been found at Tiruppalatturai, and of Haribara II (1379 to 1399) at Trichinopoly. For the next two or three centuries, indubitable traces of the suzerainty of Vijayanagar over the country of the Cholas survive. Inscriptions of the 15th century Vijayanagar sovereigns have been found at Srirangam and at Anbil, and of the great Krishna Raya Deva (1509 to 1529) at Tiruppalatturai. About 1532, the king of Travancore overran the Pandyan country and defied the authority of Vijayanagar. Achyuta Raya Deva (1530 to 1542) organised an expedition against him and was successful in his campaign. He planted a pillar of victory in the Tambraparni river, exacted tribute from the king of Travancore and married the daughter of a Pandyan feudatory. Thenceforth the Pandyan and the Chola countries seem to have been held more firmly and more directly by the representatives of Vijayanagar.

44. About 1558 a Chola chieftain who resided at Oraiyur invaded the Pandyan country and dispossessed the Pandyan chief of his territories. The latter appealed to the court of Vijayanagar, and one Nagama Nayakkan was sent to his aid. The Chola chieftain was suppressed, but Nagama threw off his allegiance, declined to help the Pandya and assumed the position of an independent ruler. Furious at his defection,

the Vijayanagar emperor sent, strangely enough, Visvanatha Nayakkan, Nagama's own son, to bring the "rebel's head". Visvanatha came south, and in concertation with his father, procured from the emperor the latter's pardon. By accident or design, the Nayakkan regime developed into a hereditary governorship and later into a practical monarchy. Though the Nayakkans never assumed the insignia of royalty and were but content to hold the position of lieutenants under Vijayanagar, they gradually ceased to pay tribute, and their sway became practically absolute. It would thus seem that, though occasionally disturbed by adventurers or officers from Vijayanagar, the Cholas and the Pandyas were not actually dispossessed and that they preserved subordinate authority in at least parts of their dominions. It is impossible to gauge their power at this period, but it is fairly certain that in effect they disappear from history.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Nayakkan Regime

45. **The Nayakkan Regime**:—Visvanatha Nayakkan (1559 to 1563): Visvanatha Nayakkan's dominions included the districts of Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevelly and Coimbatore. He sold Vallam to the Vijayanagar viceroy of Tanjore and got Srirangam in exchange. He made vast improvements in the fortifications and town of Trichinopoly, and in the temple of Srirangam. The construction of the fine Teppakulam in Trichinopoly is ascribed to him. He carried a double wall all round the town, which he flanked with a deep ditch capable of being filled from the Cauvery,

with towers and gates at suitable spots. Under him the country was apportioned among a number of chieftains (Poligars ?) who paid him tribute and kept up a quota of troops.

46. **Kumara Krishnappa** (1564 to 1573):—Visvanatha's son Kumara Krishnappa is said to have conquered Ceylon. Nothing is known of his successors till 1602.

47. **Muthu Krishnappa** (1602 to 1609):—Muthu Krishnappa is credited with the foundation of the dynasty of the Setupatis of Ramnad, probably to suppress crime and to protect pilgrims journeying to and from Setu-bandha-Ramesvaram.

48. **Muthu Virappa** (1610 to 1623):—Muthu Krishnappa was succeeded by Muthu Virappa.

49. **Tirumala Nayakkan** (1624 to 1659):—Muthu Virappa was succeeded by his son Tirumala Nayakkan. He ceased to pay tribute to the raja of Vijayanagar whose capital had been removed to Chandragiri after the battle of Vijayanagar (Talikota ?) in 1565; king Ranga Raya Deva came south in 1640 to enforce the payment of his dues. But the sultan of Golkonda, probably at the instigation of Tirumala, invaded Chandragiri. Ranga Raya Deva retraced his steps to protect his possessions, but was defeated by the sultan.

50. In 1644, the sultan of Golkonda marched south and besieged Gingee. The sultan of Bijapur sent a force, ostensibly to assist Tirumala against the sultan of Golkonda, but the two Mussalman forces joined together, and Tirumala was compelled to retreat to Madura. The Mahamadans advanced and exacted submission from the Nayakkan gover-

nor of Tanjore; Tirumala then submitted, paid a large sum to the invaders and agreed to pay an annual tribute.

51. Tirumala, who owed a grudge against the Mysore raja for his sheltering the raja of Chandragiri (Vijayanagar), invoked the aid of the Mussalmans to attack Mysore. In the war which ensued, Mysore was humbled and the power of Vijayanagar was finally extinguished. On their way back, the Mahamadans exacted enormous tributes from Tirumala and the Nayakkan governor of Tanjore.

52. In revenge for Tirumala's contribution to his humiliation at the hands of the Mahamadans, the Mysore raja invaded and occupied Coimbatore and threatened Madura; but the Mysore troops were beaten off, defeated in battle and driven up the ghats into Mysore. Tirumala's brother counter-invaded Mysore and was crowned with complete success. The King of Mysore was captured and his "nose cut off and sent to Madura".

53. When he died in 1659, his territories comprised Trichinopoly, Madura, Ramnad, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore and Salem districts and Pudukottai and parts of Travancore.

54. Tirumala's capital was Madura; none the less, he resided a good deal at Trichinopoly. He erected the great palace at Madura which still goes by his name.

55. **Muthu Alakadri** (1660 to 1662) :—Tirumala's son Muthu Alakadri attempted to shake off the Mahamadan yoke, but the Mussalmans marched into his country, took Tanjore and Vallam, and drove the Nayakkan governor into the jungle. Muthu Alakadri got alarmed and bought off the invaders for a moderate sum. Soon after he died.

56. **Chokkanatha** (1663 to 1682) :—He was succeeded by his son Chokkanatha, in whose reign the Mahamadans

probably countenanced by the Nayakkan of Tanjore, assaulted Trichinopoly, but were driven back.

57. The Mahamadans again burst into the Trichinopoly and Madura districts and devastated the country. Chokkanatha had to buy them off for a large sum.

58. Chokkanatha's next war was with Tanjore, which ended in the extinction of its Nayakkan dynasty. He wished to marry the daughter of the Tanjore Nayakkan; but as the latter declined the alliance, the fortress was stormed. The Tanjore Nayakkan placed his daughter and all the other ladies of the palace in one room, blew it up with gunpowder, charged furiously into the thickest of the enemy and was captured and beheaded.

59. Chokkanatha's brother, Alagiri, was placed in charge of the government of Tanjore; but he threw off his allegiance and declared himself independent.

60. A son or grandson of the last Tanjore Nayakkan had escaped to Bijapur and applied for help. In 1674 the sultan sent a force under the Mahratta general Venkaji (Sivaji's brother) to oust the usurper and reinstate the scion of the old line. Venkaji defeated Alagiri, but seized the kingdom for himself.

61. Meanwhile, Chikka Deva Raja of Mysore (1672 to 1704) burst upon Coimbatore; Chokkanatha could not repel the aggressor and in despair his ministers deposed him and placed his brother on the throne.

62. But in 1678, a Mahamadan adventurer replaced Chokkanatha on his tottering throne, but was himself slain by the latter and a few of his friends. In 1682 the raja of Mysore again invaded his territories and besieged his capital.

The Mahrattas defeated the Mysoreans, but turned against Chokkanatha and laid siege to Trichinopoly. Chokkanatha died of a broken heart.

63. **Ranga Krishna Muthu Virappa (1683 to 1689) :**—His son Ranga Krishna Muthu Virappa succeeded him. Little enough of his territories remained for him to rule. The greater part of them was held by Mysore and some by the Mahrattas. But the young raja recovered his capital in 1685 and gradually reconquered large parts of the ancient kingdom of his forefathers. The Mahamadans and the Mahrattas had a new enemy to face in Aurangazeb, emperor of Delhi, who from 1685 to the day of his death in 1707 stayed in the Deccan. Ranga Krishna Muthu Virappa died in 1689.

64. **Mangammal (1690 to 1704) :**—His mother Mangammal acted as regent on behalf of his son. She was a popular administrator and is still widely remembered as a maker of roads and avenues, a builder of temples and choultries and a digger of tanks. She was an able woman, and under her firm guidance the Nayakkan family regained the proud position it held in the days of Tirumala. The present Trichinopoly Town Hall was her hall of audience.

65. Aurangazeb's general, Zulfikar Khan, exacted tribute from Trichinopoly and Tanjore in 1693. In 1695 Trichinopoly was besieged by the Mysoreans but was relieved owing to pressure on Mysore from the Mahamadans in the north.

66. **Vijayaranga Chokkanatha (1705 to 1731) :**—Mangammal's grandson Vijayaranga Chokkanatha succeeded her, but very little is known about him.

67. **Minakshi (1732 to 1736)**:—His wife Minakshi acted as queen-regent on behalf of her adopted son. About 1734, Vangaru Tirumala, the father of her adopted son, raised the standard of revolt. At the same time, Safdar Ali Khan and Chanda Saheb were sent by the Nawab of Arcot to exact tribute and submission from the kingdoms of the south.*

68. The Mahamadans took Tanjore by storm and swept across Madura and Tinnevelly; on their return journey, they took part in the quarrel between Minakshi and Vangaru Tirumala. Vangaru executed a bond for three million rupees in favour of Safdar Ali Khan on condition that he should oust the queen in favour of himself. Minakshi, on the other hand, made Chanda Saheb accept her bond for a crore of rupees and declare her duly entitled to the throne. Chanda Saheb took an oath on a brick wrapped in the splendid covering usually reserved for the Koran—an act of perfidy to deceive the queen—and departed to Arcot. Minakshi and Vangaru managed their dispute between themselves; Vangaru retired to Madura to rule over Madura and Tinnevelly.

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* It must be remembered that since 1693, when Zulfikar Khan exacted tribute from Rani Mangammal, the Nayakkans had been the nominal feudatories of the emperor of Delhi, and since 1698 the Carnatic north of the Coleroon river had been under direct Mahamadan rule. The local representative of the "Great Moghul" was the Nawab of the Carnatic with his capital at Arcot, and an intermediate authority was held by the Nizam who was in theory the Viceroy of the Deccan.

CHAPTER IX.

The Mussalman Dominion

69. In 1736 Chanda Saheb came back to Trichinopoly and treacherously arranged to secure Minakshi's person in a prison. It is said that he went so far as to outrage the queen's modesty with the result that Minakshi refused to outlive her shame. So she took poison and died. With Minakshi's death came to an end the ancient dynasty of the Nayakkans. Chanda Saheb then marched against Vangaru, defeated him and attacked the Mysore province of Karur. He then proceeded to strengthen the fortifications of Trichinopoly and continued to be the undisturbed ruler of that historic city.

70. In 1740, however, at the instigation of Vangaru Tirumala and the raja of Tanjore, the Mahrattas marched to Arcot from Satara and killed the Nawab to whom Chanda Saheb was still supposed to be attached. They then came to an understanding with the Nawab's son, the Safdar Ali Khan mentioned above, recognised him as Nawab and retired for a time. But at the secret invitation of Safdar Ali, the Mahrattas suddenly reappeared and besieged Trichinopoly. Chanda Saheb held out for three months but was compelled to surrender. He was taken captive to Satara and Morari Rao was appointed to govern the conquered kingdom.

71. In 1743 the Nizam marched south, re-established his weakened authority, and in 1744 appointed Anwar-ud-din as nawab of the Carnatic.

72. In 1748 the Nizam died and a dispute arose between his son Nazir Jung and his grandson Muzzafar Jung as to

the succession. In the same year, Sahu died at Satara and Chanda Saheb regained his liberty. The latter joined Muzzafar Jung's party, defeated and slew Anwar-ud-din at Ambur and proclaimed himself nawab of the Carnatic. Anwar-ud-din's son Mahamad Ali fled to Trichinopoly and proclaimed himself nawab of the Carnatic.

CHAPTER X.

The Anglo-French Rupture

73. The French and the English in India who had recently been fighting among themselves were now nominally at peace, and consequently both had more soldiers than they knew what to do with. They therefore took sides in the conflict, the former befriending Chanda Saheb and the latter Mahamad Ali; the campaigns which followed were in reality a disguised struggle for the mastery of South India by these two European nations.

74. The raja of Tanjore and the tondaiman of Pudukottai sided with Mahamad Ali. Chanda Saheb attempted to plunder the Tanjore territories, but at the approach of Nazir Jung assisted by the Mahrattas, a force of Mysore troops and Major Lawrence, fled to Pondicherry. Muzzafur Jung was captured and kept in prison by his uncle; but the latter was murdered, and Muzzafur Jung, who found himself released, proclaimed himself Nizam.

75. Mahamad Ali applied to the English for help; Captain Cope was sent from Fort St. David, but he diverted to Madura to suppress an adventurer. As Chanda Saheb was

marching south, another English force under Captain Gingen was sent; Chanda Saheb was met at Valikandapuram. The English encamped in a tope and Chanda Saheb's forces were posted some four miles beyond. In the action which followed, the English sustained a disastrous defeat and retreated to Uttattur. Among the officers was Clive, then a lieutenant (1750).

76. Chanda Saheb and the French followed the retreating English and a petty disaster overtook the latter. The French seemed determined to bring on a general action, but the British drove them to flight. The latter, however, continued their retreat to Bhikshandarkovil, then to the Srirangam temple and finally to Trichinopoly. Chanda Saheb and the French followed them, posted a garrison at Srirangam, crossed the Cauvery and encamped to the east of Trichinopoly. Their line extended from Sarkarpalaiyam to the French rock and on to Erumbeswaram. The English sent another detachment under Major Lawrence, who came round to the south of Erumbeswaram so as to get into Trichinopoly by way of the Golden rock. Captain Dalton, some Mysoreans and the troops of the Nawab joined him; in the battle which followed, the French were defeated and forced to retreat north of the Cauvery, but Lawrence did not pursue them.

77. In the meanwhile Clive created a diversion by a dashing attack on Arcot, which he captured and defended against a fifty days' siege. During his absence the siege of Trichinopoly had been raised. Robert Clive thereupon seized Samayapuram and Mannachanalloor, and Lalgudi was taken by another force (1752).

78. Reinforcements sent by Dupleix from Pondicherry reached Uttattur, and Clive set out to intercept them. The

French despatched a force from Srirangam to cut up Clive's troops left behind. But, as the French did not seem to move out of Uttattur, Clive returned to Samayapuram. The French party from Srirangam arrived at about midnight but sustained a severe defeat at the hands of Clive, who, though in extreme personal danger himself, by his extraordinary pluck and presence of mind, either killed or captured the whole of the attacking party. The French at Uttattur were next attacked by Dalton and they retired on Ranjangudi. Hard pressed by Clive and Dalton, they surrendered.

79. Clive next proceeded to storm the French outpost at Bhikshandarkovil. Posting himself in the village, some 200 yards north of the temple occupied by the French, Clive not only bombarded Chanda Saheb's army at Srirangam from across the river which was in full floods at that time, but also defeated the French and took the temple, thus exposing the camp at Srirangam to easier attack from the north. The greater part of Chanda Saheb's army deserted almost at once to the English. Chanda Saheb in despair gave himself up to the commander of the Tanjore troops which were on the spot assisting the English. The Tanjore general murdered him and the French in Srirangam also surrendered. Chanda Saheb's headless trunk lies buried in the compound of Nathur Shah's mosque at Trichinopoly.

80. Major Lawrence thereupon started for Madras leaving Captain Dalton with a small force at Trichinopoly.

81. But Dupleix had succeeded in detaching the Mysore leader and Morari Rao from the side of Mahamad Ali. The treachery of the Mysore troops compelled Dalton to attack them at Srirangam. He attempted a night surprise, but was driven out with considerable loss. Thus the tables were

turned in 1753 and Dalton himself was besieged in Trichinopoly. Major Lawrence, who was fighting with the French and the Mahrattas at Tiruvadi, reached Trichinopoly with a large army, while the Mysoreans were augmented by French and Mahratta contingents.

82. Lawrence made an attack on the French and the Mysoreans in Srirangam from Mutharasanallur ; but the result was indecisive. The fighting only served to show Lawrence that the French were ably commanded and that it was hopeless to attempt to clear them out of Srirangam. He then camped at the Fakir's tope, while the French established a post to the south thereof to interrupt Lawrence's communication with Pudukottai and Tanjore. Lawrence thereupon occupied the Fakir's rock whence he was driven out ; but the rock was gallantly stormed by the British, and the French battalion was put to flight.

83. Lawrence then went to Tanjore leaving Dalton in command of Trichinopoly. When Lawrence came back, the French attempted to intercept his advance, their army extending in a long line from the French rock to the Fakir's rock. Lawrence defeated them in a brilliantly-fought action, and made his way into the beleaguered city.

84. Lawrence then went on to attack the enemy at Uyyakondan Triumalai where they had entrenched themselves in a strong position. They retreated to Mutharasanallur ; but as the English abandoned the temple, the French reoccupied it.

85. As the French still persisted in remaining south of the Cauvery and hampered the bringing in of supplies, Lawrence brought on a general action. The English were camped by the French rock and the French faced them

from the Sugarloaf rock. The French advance guard was attacked and the garrison retired back to the main camp which was thrown into great confusion. The battle was soon decided and the French were driven across the river.

86. A French detachment was yet in possession of the fortified temple at Uyyakondan Tirumalai. Lawrence marched against it and carried it by assault.

87. Lawrence then moved off into the Tanjore country. The French force, now largely augmented, made a last effort to capture Trichinopoly by a determined night-attack on Dalton's battery. This battery was situated at the north-west corner of the fort and was surrounded by a ditch. A rock across the ditch made the crossing an easy matter. The battery stood on the outside wall of the fort and extended in a rather complicated mass of defences in front of the inner wall and of a gate at the south-western corner of the Teppakulam. The only approach to the gate was through a narrow winding passage between the enveloping walls.

88. A party of Frenchmen crossed the ditch at night and scaled the battery with ladders. The guard was asleep and without raising any alarm was bayonetted. Some of the attacking party, as they moved towards the gate in the darkness, fell into a pit the existence of which was unknown and screamed for help. The main body, considering further concealment useless, turned the battery guns upon the fort and began to fire.

89. The English under Lieutenant Harrison now rushed to the wall above the gate. Meanwhile the French clambered down from the battery into the space between the outer and the inner walls, and a party, carrying two petards and guided

by a deserter, hastened into the narrow passage leading to the gate intending to blow it up, while another party placed ladders against the wall beside the gate and attempted to scale it. The English soldiers on the wall above the gate kept on recklessly firing into the open space below them. The deserter and the petard-carriers were accidentally shot dead, the ladders broke and were thrown down, and the enemy turned to escape. But having no means of descending from the outer wall, many jumped down on to the rock or into the ditch injuring or killing themselves. The rest stood on the battery firing at the English, while the latter continued to fire at random till day-dawn, when the French surrendered. But for the accidental existence of the pit and the chance killing of the deserter and the two petard-men, the French would probably have succeeded.

90. In February 1754 the English met a reverse in the destruction of a convoy bringing in supplies from Tanjore. The commanding officer had little experience and less ability. At Kuttappar a party of Mahrattas and Mysoreans helped by the French attacked the convoy. The officers were all killed or wounded and the French captured about 150 prisoners. The garrison of Tiruverumbur hurried to the rescue; but if it had been in a body and pushed for Kuttappar, all would have been well. In the words of Major Lawrence, the commanding officer from his misconduct lost his party. A fierce struggle over another convoy took place near the Golden rock on 12th May 1754, but the French were beaten off.

91. The French next made an incursion into Pudukkottai and burnt a few empty villages. Frustrated in their attempts to punish the tondaiman for his support of the English, they seized Kiliyur and Koviladi and cut the bank which

prevents the Cauvery from running to waste down the Coleroon. The Tanjore troops who came to avenge the injury were also defeated. At this juncture Morari Rao left the Carnatic.

92. As Lawrence moved again from Tanjore to Trichinopoly, the French tried to intercept him near the Golden rock, but were defeated. The government of France, weary of the war, recalled Dupleix, a truce was made and a suspension of hostilities was agreed to.

93. In 1755 the Nizam invaded Mysore ; so the Mysore leader left Srirangam. The French, who still stayed in the neighbourhood, made an expedition against the zamindar of Turaiyur to enforce the payment of tribute. They had planned a similar descent upon Udayarpalaiyam and Ariyalur, but Caillaud, the English commander at Trichinopoly, dissuaded them by threats of opposition.

94. In 1757 the two nations again came to blows in the Carnatic. Caillaud had gone to Madura and the French sent a large army to attack Trichinopoly. Eluding the French with great adoritness, Caillaud regained the city. The French withdrew to Pondicherry without effecting anything.

95. In May 1758 the French were withdrawn from Srirangam leaving the island in charge of Haidar Ali's brother. But the English under Captain Joseph Smith drove out the Mysoreans and took possession of the island.

96. In June 1758, Count de Lally, the new French governor, marched against Tanjore, but was completely defeated. The scene of action was then transferred elsewhere, and Lally captured Fort St. David and besieged Madras.

97. In July 1759, the French marched as far as Uttattur. Later in the same year, a larger force occupied Srirangam and garrisoned Bhikshandarkovil. Captain Richard Smith led an expedition from Trichinopoly, and after effecting a junction with some British troops sent from Samayapuram, attacked the temple at Bhikshandarkovil. The French fire was so hot that the English were forced to leave the attack. But the news of the defeat at Wandiwash made the French retire.

98. In 1760, Captain Richard Smith attacked Karur, a Mysore possession, in revenge for the assistance which Haidar had given to the French. The Karur commandant disavowed any connection with Haidar's movements, styled him a rebel against the raja of Mysore, evacuated the fort and proceeded to Namakkal, another Mysore possession.

99. In January 1761, Pondicherry surrendered to Sir Eyre Coote and the French ceased to be a power of any importance in South India. Two years later, the treaty of Paris made the French recognise Mahamad Ali as the Nawab of the Carnatic. Karur was retained by the English, and Namakkal by Mysore.

CHAPTER XI.

The Conflict with Mysore

100. Haidar Ali, having usurped the throne of Mysore, rose so rapidly in power that the English got alarmed and undertook to help the Nizam against him in 1766. In May 1768, while Haidar was busy in Malabar, Namakkal and other places fell into the hands of the English. But in 1769 Haidar recovered all his possessions including Karur.

101. In 1781 came Haidar's turn. He invested Trichinopoly, but had to withdraw in order to meet Sir Eyre Coote who was advancing against him. Coote defeated Haidar at Poto Novo. Haidar died in 1782, and in the following year the English took Karur. But, by the treaty of 1784, Karur was restored to Tippu.

102. In 1790 the English again occupied Karur. Tippu marched past Karur up to Trichinopoly and laid waste the island of Srirangam. But Lord Cornwallis's successes in Mysore drew him back. By the treaty of 1792, Karur was left to Tippu but Namakkal was retained by the English.

103. In 1799 Karur was again occupied by the English. But the fall of Srirangapatnam (Seringapatam?) and the death of Tippu put a stop to hostilities, and by the treaty which followed, Karur was retained by the English.

CHAPTER XII.

The British Occupation

104. In 1781, Mahamad Ali had assigned the revenues of the Carnatic to the English for five years to meet the cost of the war against Haidar. In 1785 the court of directors cancelled the assignment. In 1790 the English took possession of the country by proclamation without treaty.

105. In 1792, an agreement was made between the English and the Nawab, whereby the latter had to maintain an English army at a cost of 900,000 pagodas a year. In 1799, on the capture of Srirangapatnam, treasonable correspondence

between Tippu and Mahamad Ali (who had died* in 1795) was discovered. The British made an agreement in 1801 with Azim-ud-daulah, a nephew of Mahamad Ali, whereby he renounced the civil and military government of the Carnatic in favour of the English and retired on a pension. Trichinopoly was thus transferred to the English and an English Collector assumed charge of the district in August 1801.

* Mahamad Ali's body lies buried in Nathur Shah's mosque at Trichinopoly.